## Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 MC-02 EUR-12 ISO-00 AID-05 IGA-02 OMB-01 EB-07 TRSE-00 ACDA-07 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 EPG-02 /094 W

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PR 101225Z JUN 77

FM AMEMBASSY GABORONE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0051

INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY DARESSALAAM POUCH

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO POUCH

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 GABORONE 1304

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, UK, US, SF, BC

SUBJECT: BOTSWANA REQUEST FOR SECURITY ASSISTANCE; THIRD COUNTRY INVOLVEMENT: THE UK AND COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

REF: A. GABORONE 1296; B. GABORONE 1290

NOTE: THIS IS PART III OF A THREE-PART TELEGRAM ON BOTSWANA'S REQUEST FOR SECURITY ASSISTANCE (REFTELS BEING PARTIS I AND II).

1. Q: HOW MUCH DOES THE GOB THINK THE REQUESTED MILITARY EQUIPMENT WILL COST?

A: THE GOB HAS GIVEN US NO COST ESTIMATE. WE ARE TRYING TO ASCERTAIN WHAT ITS PRIORITIES ARE FROM A REQUEST LIST COVERING ITS TOTAL NEEDS. WE EXPECT TO HAVE A FIGURE SOON. CONFIDENTIAL

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WE CAN SAY EVEN NOW THAT, IF WE CONSIDER NON-LETHAL EQUIPMENT IN THE BROADEST SENSE, I.E., INCLUDING JEEPS, RADIOS, BLANK AMMO, MINE DETECTORS, NIGHT VIEWING DEVICES, ETC., THE COST WOULD BE SOME \$2,800,000, PLUS FREIGHT.

2. Q: HOW MUCH DOES THE FARAH REPORT ESTIMATE THE BDF

#### WILL COST?

A: THE FARAH MISSION REPORT ESTIMATES THAT THE PLANNED EXPANSION OF THE BOTSWANA DEFENSE FORCE (CALLED THE POLICE MOBILE UNIT IN THE REPORT) WILL HAVE A TOTAL COST OF \$17,800,000 IN CAPITAL EXPENDITURES (CAMPS. VEHICLES, ARMS AND EQUIPMENT) PLUS AN ANNUAL RECURRENT COST OF \$3,600,000. THE REPORT MAKES CLEAR THAT THESE COSTS WOULD BE MET BY GOB INTERNAL RESOURCES.

# 3. Q: IS BOTSWANA ASKING FOR GRANTS OR CREDITS FOR MILITARY EQUIPMENT?

A: ALTHOUGH THE GOB NATURALLY WOULD PREFER GRANTS, IN DISCUSSING ITS REQUEST WITH RANKING OFFICIALS, WE HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT FMS CREDITS WOULD BE THE MOST FAVORABLE POSSIBLE TERMS, WITH COMMERCIAL PURCHASES AN ALTERNATIVE.

4. Q: IF WE DO NOT APPROVE FMS CREDITS, WILL BOTSWANA BE WILLING AND ABLE TO PURCHASE THE EQUIPMENT IN THE U.S.?

A: WITHOUT CREDITS, THE GOB WOULD FIND IT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN ARMS IN THE QUANTITIES IT WANTS. IF DENIED CREDITS BY THE USG, BOTSWANA WOULD PROBABLY TURN TO THE UK FOR LIMITED COMMERCIAL PURCHASES. SUCH IS THE STATE OF MIND HERE, IN THE FACE OF RHODESIAN ACTIONS AND DISPUTING ZIMBABWEAN NATIONALIST FACTIONS, THAT WE BELIEVE THE GOB WOULD NOT CONFINE ITS SEARCH TO CREDITS BUT WOULD EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF OUTRIGHT GRANTS OF EQUIPMENT FROM OTHER SOURCES, ALL OF WHICH CONFIDENTIAL

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ARE BELIEVED TO BE COMMUNIST. (EXCEPT FOR THE UK, THERE IS NO GOB INTEREST IN OR CONNECTION WITH WESTERN EUROPEAN SOURCES.)

5. Q: WHAT EFFECT WILL INCREASED MILITARY EXPENDITURES FOR CASH PURCHASES OR MILITARY DEBT SERVICE HAVE ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROSPECTS AND PROGRAMS?

A: ALTHOUGH CASH PURCHASE, OR EVEN DEBT SERVICING
OF THE EXPANDED MAY SHOPPING LIST WOULD INCREASE THE
FARAH MISSION'S ESTIMATES BY PERHAPS 5 TO 10 MILLION
DOLLARS, THIS IS AN UNKNOWN AND CANNOT REALLY BE FACTORED
INTO OUR ANSWER, OTHER THAN IN THE MOST INEXACT TERMS.
THE FARAH MISSION REPORT STATES THAT THE GOB BUDGETED
\$39.5 MILLION FOR NORMAL DEVELOPMENT FROM DOMESTIC
RESOURCES FOR THE FIRST THREE YEARS OF THE DEVELOPMENT
PLAN. THE MOST AUTHORITATIVE ESTIMATE (ALSO FARAH'S)
OF TOTAL CAPITAL AND CURRENT COST FOR DEFENSE FOR THE
FIRST THREE (3) YEARS IS \$28.6 MILLION. OF THIS, GOB
HAS BUDGETED ABOUT \$2.2 MILLION UNDER THE "POLICE" RUBRIC

IN THE FIRST THREE YEARS OF THE 1976-1981 DEVELOPMENT PLAN. A TOTAL OF \$26.4 MILLION IS THUS EXPECTED TO BE DIVERTED FROM BOTSWANA'S CONTRIBUTION TO ITS DEVELOPMENT BUDGET OF \$39.5 MILLION. THE AMOUNT TO BE DIVERTED TO DEFENSE IS THUS ABOUT 15 PERCENT OF THE RESOURCES EXPECTED TO BE AVAILABLE FOR DEVELOPMENT DURING THE FIRST THREE YEARS OF THE PLAN FROM BOTH GOB AND EXTERNAL DONORS (TOTAL \$174 MILLION).

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### CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

THIS DIVERSION OF 15 PERCENT DOES NOT STRIKE US AS A CRIPPLING BLOW TO DEVELOPMENT, E.G., WHEN COMPARED WITH THE ENORMOUS DIVERSIONS FOR DEFENSE UNDERTAKEN BY MANY OTHER COUNTRIES. GIVEN THE ENDORSEMENT OF THE FARAH MISSION REPORT, THERE IS SOME CONFIDENCE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WILL RESPOND FAVORABLY TO THE GOB REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE IN FILLING THIS HIATUS IN DEVELOPMENT FINANCING. THEREFORE, BARRING SOME CRIPPLING ECONOMIC CRISIS CAUSED BY DROUGHT OR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, THERE ARE GOOD INDICATIONS THAT THE GOB WOULD, WITH THE HELP OF DONORS' GRANTS AND CREDITS, HAVE THE RESOUCES REQUIRED FOR PROJECTED DEFENSE SPENDING.

6. Q: IF RATHER THAN EXTEND FMS CREDITS WE OPT FOR INCREASED ECONOMIC AID (OVER WHAT WE HAVE PLANNED), WHAT CONFIDENTIAL

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#### PROJECTS SHOULD BE CONSIDER?

A: IN SUCH AN EVENTUALITY, WE SHOULD GIVE VERY SYMPATHETIC CONSIDERATION TO: (A) HELPING TO FINANCE CONTINGENCY RAILROAD EQUIPMENT, EITHER FOR THE EXISTING NORTH-SOUTH RAILROAD OR POSSIBLY A NEW EAST-WEST ONE; (B) GRAIN PURCHASE AND STORAGE; (C) ACCESS ROADS IN THE RHODESIAN BORDER AREA; AND (D) REFUGEE CAMPS, SCHOOLS AND SUBSISTENCE. THESE ARE LISTED IN DESCENDING ORDER OF PRIORITY.

7. Q: HOW SERIOUS IS THE NEGATIVE EFFECT OF SLOW DELIVERY ON SOME OF OUR AID PROGRAMS?

A: SERIOUS ENOUGH THAT THE CREDIBILITY OF AID AS
A RELIABLE SOURCE OF DEVELOPMENT AND REFUGEE (EMERGENCY)
ASSISTANCE ALIKE IS INCREASINGLY QUESTIONED. ANTICIPATED
DELAYS DUE TO AID PROCEDURES HAVE LED US TO CHANNEL REFUGEE-RELATED RELIEF (EVEN LARGE CAPITAL PROJECTS) THROUGH
THE UNHCR. AID PROJECTS -- WHILE DESIRABLE IN THEMSELVES -LOSE MUCH OF THEIR BENEFICIAL EFFECT TO BOTH GOVERNMENTS
IF NOT IMPLEMENTED WITHIN A REASONABLE TIME. WE BELIEVE
THERE IS A CLEAR LIMIT TO THE DELAYS THE GOB WILL ACCEPT
IN REGARD TO SECURITY-RELATED ASSISTANCE.

# 8. Q: WOULD U.S. INTERESTS BE BETTER SERVED BY FOCUSING OUR AID ONLY ON THE ECONOMIC SECTOR?

A: OUR INTEREST IN THIS REGION IS LARGELY POLITICAL.
WHILE IN ECONOMIC TERMS THE OFF-SETTING EFFECT OF EQUIVALENT ECONOMIC AID MAY BENEFIT THE GOB AS MUCH AS DIRECT MILITARY ASSISTANCE, IT WOULD PROBABLY BE DIFFICULT TO CONVINCE THE GOB THAT IT WOULD NOT HAVE RECEIVED THE SAME ECONOMIC AID IN ANY CASE. (STATISTICS ON THIS SPECULATIVE POINT ARE UNLIKELY TO IMPRESS ANYONE.) IN ADDITION, RESPONSE TO A REQUEST FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE IS MEASURABLE IN TERMS OF IMMEDIACY AND INVOLVES TANGIBLE ITEMS. THE GOB WOULD CLEARLY FIND A PROMPT RESPONSE CONVINCING AS CONCRETE EVIDENCE OF OUR COMMITMENT TO BOTSWANA'S SURVIVAL AS A STABLE, NON-RACIAL DEMOCRACY CONFIDENTIAL

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DEEPLY COMMITTED TO RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

9. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS. WE HAVE JUST RECEIVED

USUN MESSAGE REPORTS THAT MINEXTAFF MOGWE EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT WITH RESULTS OF JUNE 6 PLEDGING CONFERENCE AND WISHES U.S. FUNDS MIGHT BE DIVERTED TO "OTHER EMERGENCY PROBLEMS" (I.E., MILITARY ASSISTANCE). THIS ATTITUDE WAS REPEATED BY PRESIDENTIAL ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY TIBONE IN JUNE 9 CONVERSATION WITH DCM; HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR U.S. CONTRIBUTION BUT DISAPPOINTMENT THAT IT MIGHT NOT HAVE BEEN USED "FOR OTHER PROBRAMS". WE INTERPRET THESE INDEPENDENT COMMENTS AS REFLECTING GROWING GOB CONCERN REGARDING SOURCES OF FUNDING MILITARY ASSISTANCE. IF WE SOUGHT TO INVENT SOME DRAMATIC DEVICE TO ENFORCE THE BURDEN OF THESE MESSAGES (WHICH WE ARE NOT), WE COULD HARDLY HAVE COME UP WITH A BETTER ONE.

10. RECOMMENDATION: WE REPEAT ACTION REQUESTED IN GABORONE 1290: THAT DEPARTMENT REVIEW GOB REQUEST FOR SECURITY ASSISTANCE AND THAT WE SEEK A PRESIDENTIAL DETERMINATION TO PERMIT FMS CREDITS TO BE USED FOR SALE OF DEFENSE ARTICLES AND SERVICES TO BOTSWANA. NORLAND

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